1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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held up the head, and, putting a little digitaria porridge in his mouth, spat it out over the head, saying to the head-winner: "I thank you. Good fortune go with you, and may you get many more heads." On the same day they returned to their own town, where the festivities were continued for a further two days. On the fifth day the head-winner, the local priest, and friends took the head to the village of the warrior's maternal uncle or grandfather, who congratulated his nephew and slew a goat to celebrate the occasion. A feast was held and the uncle gave his nephew a hoe, bidding him use the iron of the hoe to fashion fresh spears and arrows that he might go and give further proof of his prowess. The nephew then returned to his home, where he was ever afterwards saluted as "mwaliak", the right hand being held up to him. The uncle buried the head in mud, and left it there until it was completely cleaned of all flesh.[1] He then took the head and a jar of beer to the nephew's village, where a feast, attended by warriors and old men, was held. The head-winner was once more given a protective draught, and his body was smeared with mahogany oil. The head was finally handed to the local priest who deposited it in the skull hut.[2] This hut had a small entrance, and the skulls were hung up inside on an ant-proof rafter of the roof. Every harvest the priest offered thanks, taking out the skulls, and spitting on them fragments of porridge made from the first-fruits of digitaria millet.

The noteworthy points about the rites are: (*a*) the use by the head-winner of protective medicines, and the avoidance of his own hut at night time; (*b*) the swallowing (without chewing) of a small piece of the flesh of the captured head; (*c*) the recognition of Shokwa as the priestly father of the tribe; (*d*) the important part played by the head-winner's maternal relatives; (3) the head-winner only considered the act of getting a head as a means of distinction; there was no underlying religious idea such as that the dead enemy would be his slave in a future life.

It may be added that the Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting.

[1] But at the conclusion of the feast the head was often boiled and cleaned by the Magajin Elenowum instead of being buried in mud whence it might be stolen.

[2] Some sections of the tribe had special "skull huts". In others the skulls were hung up in the Magajin Elenowum's hut.

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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 622 648 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

648 622 554 778 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

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sent from Kauru for the purpose. The Katab headmen were treated in this way and, when a new headman was appointed, a messenger was sent from the chief of Kauru with the sword wrapped in a mat. The messenger was given numerous presents (a goat, bags of millet, salt, a dish of butter, and 10,000 cowries) and the ceremony of swearing-in was then performed. "Here is the sword," he said; "if you swear that you will do no mischief, and will hide nothing from us you will be established. But if you engage in intrigue this sword will kill you." The headman swore to be faithful for ever, and was then allowed a fleeting glance at the sword, the case being slightly opened. A feast was held, and the messenger returned to Kauru with the sword. The present district headman of the Katab area obtained two of these swords from Kauru and uses them in the same way to-day. He has issued one to each of the heads of the sub-clans, Aswen and Fakan, and these headmen use the swords for swearing in minor officials of the sub-clan. No village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword.

The sword shown to me was shaped thus, the handle having been injured :—

The length was about two feet. Numerous other chiefs of Nigerian tribes have sacred swords. Some are believed to have been brought from the Yemen by the forefathers of the chief. (But those examined were of Prussian manufacture.)

When the Bornu-Fulani dynasty displaced the Habe of Zaria, Kauru came under the new régime and the Katab continued to function as an appendage of Kauru. (Morwa, however, dealt

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This Question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the 691
resultant disputes as to the paternity of children has exercised 582
the minds of the Administration for many years. It is horrifying to both the Muslim and the European mind that an enceinte woman should abandon her husband and bring forth and wean a child in the house of a rival husband. The repugnance felt towards the practice and the unceasing court cases which it entailed led everyone, including the Katab chiefs themselves, to the conclusion that the best method of dealing with the Gordian knot was to cut it. And so proposals were brought forward that a woman who was enceinte should not contract a sub-marriage with another man until she had weaned her child, and that rival suitors or parents who influenced or harboured "fugitive" wives should be punished. The Katab chiefs, if they did not actually suggest these alterations in their tribal custom, at any rate agreed, but when the new rules were about to be promulgated they suddenly dissented, realizing that the matter was not so simple as it had appeared, and that the alteration would strike at the very basis of their social life. And so at the last moment the suggested innovations were abandoned, and the present position in Zaria Province is that a man whose wife runs off to another man, and whom he believes to be enceinte by him, must immediately notify the Court. Paternity disputes have in consequence diminished. This rule has been adopted in the Plateau Province by those tribes who are independent; but, if my information is correct, in the Iya's district of the Jema'a Division rules have been lately introduced forbidding a woman who is enceinte or weaning a child to contract a sub-marriage. If this is so, it means, in practice, that the Administration is putting a stop to the contraction of sub-marriages, on which the present social organization largely depends. Quite apart from that, the rule is likely to cause more trouble than it removes.

The sub-clan head had not a great deal of authority, being 613
simply an intermediary between the sub-clan and the foreign 554
rulers. He had nothing to do with the assignment of or collection of taxes, as the Kauru rulers dealt direct with the villages in such matters. He was, however, the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers, and could summon the village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. In judicial matters he could deal with minor offences, but took as little responsibility as possible, referring to Kauru all important matters or those

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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613 554 likely to embroil him with his fellow-clansmen. His position was never so strong that he could call on his clansmen to perform such personal services as the repair of his house or the clearing of his farm.

622 651 The position of the village-head was even more unenviable. It was his business to apportion the tax, which might be a horse or slave, or several, according to the size of the village. To obtain this he called on each householder to provide as much corn or cash as would suffice to buy the slave required. He had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru. But apart from these imposed duties he was careful to mind his own business. [152 626] Any excessive zeal would be rewarded by an arrow. The Katab was quick to seize his bow even against his nearest relatives, and it was not uncommon for a village-head to take refuge in Kauru until the anger of his fellow-villagers had subsided.

It would appear that in the early days the Aswen sub-clan was recognized as the senior Katab clan, the chief of Aswen receiving an acknowledgment of his position in the form of the forelegs of larger game killed. But in later times the sub-clan of Fakan assumed the rôle formerly held by Aswen. Fakan, however, was merely *primus inter pares*. If one sub-clan had a dispute with another the matter was referred to a disinterested group. Thus, if the Agbat had a dispute with the Aswen, the Fakan sub-clan was called in as an intermediary. If Fakan had a dispute with Nje, the Aswen clan was asked to adjudicate, and so on.

642 642 692 642 646 201 The present position is that the Katab (with the Ikulu and Kaje) are administered from Zaria by a resident district headman with the title of Katuka, who is directly responsible to the Emir of Zaria. The sub-clan and clan headman have no executive authority outside the limits of their own village-areas, but they combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters, the chief of the sub-clan Aswen being at the moment president of the court. The sub-clan and elders also, in accordance with native custom, form a deliberative assembly, and I witnessed a meeting of this assembly which had been convened to discuss certain matters referred to them by the district headman. The Magajin Mugu of the Aswen sub-clan spoke first, and was followed in turn by the other sub-clan headmen. As each finished speaking the most senior men

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Kagoro

825 582 621 Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

621 792 224 Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

621 628 621 792 771 In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

727 554 The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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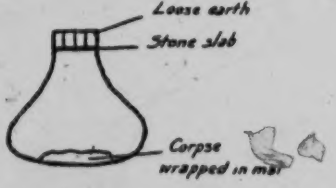
with ululations and the blowing of horns. He handed the head to a relative who put a string through the lips and danced about with it. He himself went straight to the priestly family which had charge of the head-hunting rites. From them he received a protecting draught consisting of some palm and mahogany oil intermixed with a few drops of the blood from the head. He was subjected to numerous taboos. He was not allowed to speak or touch the ground, being carried round on the shoulders of friends in the same way as a successful athlete in England. After the dance the warrior was taken to his house. The head was buried in mud by the priestly family and when it was clean of all flesh was deposited in the skull hut, which was to be found in every Kagoro village. When this was done a feast was held, but at this feast no women or young people were allowed to be present. All congratulated and thanked the warrior, holding up to him the index finger of the right hand, a mode of salutation to which he became entitled for the rest of his life. The Kagoro refrained from taking the heads of their Morwa and Katab neighbours, confining their energies to the Ataka and Kaje tribes. In times of war the Kagoro abstained from drinking beer. Their villages were protected by hedges of cactus which provided good cover for discharging their arrows. The hills and caves in the rear offered a safe retreat if they were driven out of their villages.

The Kagoro grave is of the decanter type, a type which may have had its origin in pot burial.



As stated in the Katab report, the Kagoro tribal marks are similar to those of the Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and Kagoma. The Kagoro call the Katab "Atiap", the Morwa "Asulio", the Kaje "Ajio", the Fulani "Fata", and the Hausa "Akpat". They call themselves the Agwǫlǫk.

never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

(*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

(*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[a]

Occupations: Division of Labour

Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by males,[b] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees(in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

[a] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[b] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

a tribal hunt in the large marsh of Kagoro District. These two tribal hunts (*anerifan*), which open the Kagoro year and hunting season, are of great ritual importance. After they have been performed the clan hunting areas of each community are opened in strict order of precedence.

Prestige is associated with hunting skill and men who slew certain beasts (leopard, dwarf buffalo, "antelope" and roan [antelope]) were honoured by special titles. There are also titles associated with inter-tribal warfare and the practice of removing the heads of dead enemies. Terms of contempt were applied to men who had removed the head of an enemy killed by another, or by stealthy murder. Indiscriminate head-hunting was not practised; men won prestige titles only during fighting which had been announced by the battle-horns. Neither hunting nor head-taking prowess was apparently a necessary condition of adulthood, but either gave a man a voice in the village council.

Relationships with other tribes are traditionally expressed in terms of warfare and head-hunting, the occupation of territory and also, to some degree, marriage: such relations thus differ only in degree from intra-tribal relations among villages and *kwai*, and indeed *ufam* and *tusa*.[78a] At the time of the growth of the original Kagoro settlements on Kagoro Rock, perhaps at the beginning of the 19th century, Kagoro enlisted the help of Aten of Ganawuri to drive out the Kachichere who were in occupation of the plain to the north of the Rock. Thereafter the history of eastern Kagoro consisted of a series of short fights with Ataka over women, farmlands, and hunting rights. In the west the enemies of Kagoro were Kaje and the Hausa-Fulani of Jema'a, while their friends were Katab, Jaba, Kaninkon, and Kafanchan tribes. Fighting with Kaje arose from disputes over hunting and farmlands and secondary marriages.

Economy: Land Tenure

It is possible to treat Kagoro economy in a summary fashion, since for the most part generalizations based on available materials do not differ from those already set down for Katab proper (see above, pp. 68–9).[78b]

Co-operative Enterprise: According to Smith, "most tasks beyond the ability of individual households" are commonly undertaken by co-operative groups of varying personnel. Certain activities may be undertaken by clan groups, by persons linked by marriage or uterine ties, by the local community, by men, women, girls, and boys separately, while others are private individual arrangements. "Co-operative work extends throughout all traditional economic activity not reserved by definition for the domestic unit." Smith goes on to say that it is misleading among Kagoro to regard different domestic units as self-contained economic units. There is neither purely individual land tenure nor individual production, and consumption itself is, within the complex of ritual kinship and marriage obligations, not limited to household members only. Cash as a medium of internal exchange is unimportant, and "the social advantages of subsistence farming appear to the Kagoro to outweigh the material advantages of increased production of cash exchange in acquisition and satisfaction of new needs, specialisation, etc." In an annotated table Smith describes over twenty named institutions among Kagoro involving co-operative activity, ranging from the planting, cultivating and harvesting of specific (traditional) crops (accompanied by ritual), and hunting (also, as already noted, accompanied by ritual), to what might be termed simple industrial activities, involving limited division of labour. Among apparently recent innovations in the field of co-operation among Kagoro are the district-wide consumer

[78a] The process of fusion noted to be vital among Kagoro has bearing on this essential fact, which itself is consistent with a pattern emerging from the accounts of other, related, tribes discussed above.

[78b] Statements made in the preceding section and hereinafter reveal differences from the Katab possibly more apparent than real, but as Kagoro have been the most thoroughly investigated of these peoples further investigation may well show that they are by no means unique in such ways as they now appear to be.

According to Temple, twins are considered lucky. An " unsound " child was drowned, at about the age of four years, " or sometimes later." Children are suckled two years, according to Tremearne, during which time the wife lives apart from her husband: during this period, in the case of the first-born of any union (see ***Marriage***, below), the mother resides in her parents' compound, according to Smith; and after its termination, towards the end of the dry season, she prepares beer for the annual *obwai* rites of her father's clan (see *Burial* and *Religious Beliefs*, below).

Initiation

Boys are circumcised at about the age of eight years—whether or not ritually or in groups is not indicated. At about 10 years, apparently in groups, they are initiated into the *obwai* cult: according to Smith, each clan has its own *obwai* priest and shrine; whether any attempt is made to co-ordinate the initiation rites held by the different clans is not stated. Temple describes the initiation rites as follows (after Tremearne): " [The boys] are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed." During the course of their detention, the boys are told that *obwai* is a secret invention to discipline women, according to Smith. Revealing this secret to women was punished with death or banishment before Administration, and is still discouraged, though Smith states that " in 20th century conditions [*obwai*] does not command awe among initiated males, and has lost some former functions."

According to Temple: " The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age. . . ."

As already indicated, there is said to have been no special mark to identify a man who had taken a head, but, according to Tremearne, a man " was not supposed to have attained to the full dignity of manhood until he had killed someone " (see p. 96, above).

Marriage

Smith's analysis of Kagoro marriage is the most detailed available for peoples treated in this volume. An adaptation of his more complete account follows.

In general, marriage among Kagoro conforms very closely to Meek's description of the institution among Katab. Basically, marriage is virilocal, though a couple may share the husband's father's or husband's mother's brother's compound. Polygyny is permitted, that is, a man may support several wives in his compound simultaneously; a woman may have several husbands simultaneously, in fact, but her several husbands always maintain separate compounds in different villages, and there she " visits " them.[84] Marriage contracts may be classified as follows:

(1) Primary: bride is unmarried.[85]
(2) Secondary: bride has been previously married to any man other than (i) a fellow clansman or (ii) one in the ***niendi*** relationship.[86]
    (*a*) By betrothal.
    (*b*) By capture.

[84] Smith rejects the term *polyandry* as applying among Kagoro: however, ***serial polyandry*** seems to this investigator useful and meaningful in this situation, if it is made clear that divorce is not implicit in the term.

[85] *N.B.*, traditionally, no such thing as divorce existed among Kagoro.

[86] As regards marriage in general, relations between Kagoro clans (***kwai***) are classified as ***niendi***, or as ***nendwang***: a man takes his primary wife or wives from among the previously unmarried girls of clans that are traditionally in the ***niendi*** relationship with his own clan; he takes secondary wives from among the ***wives*** of men of clans in the ***nendwang*** relationship with his own clan and living in another village. (Close examination of Smith's report does not reveal whether women born into the same clan as his own primary wife, when married to men of clans ***nendwang*** with respect to the man's own clan, are excepted.)

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [431]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [36] 342